

THE LABOUR ORGANISER

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WANTED—A NEW CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT

HOW THE DICE IS LOADED AGAINST LABOUR CANDIDATES

By THE EDITOR.

At the Annual Conference of the National Association of Labour Agents to be held on the 25th inst., a resolution is to be proposed protesting in strong terms against the many handicaps which Labour candidates at present suffer owing to the unsatisfactory state of the law relating to Corrupt Practices, the incidence of which is, of course, felt in the first place more particularly by the agents in charge of the machine. The resolution in question emphasises especially the grave scandal of the overwhelming use of motor cars for the conveyance of voters by Labour's opponents, which scandalous feature of modern electioneering comes into prominence more and more at each election.

The object of the agents in dealing with these matters on the present occasion is to lay the foundations of an agitation having for its object the awakening of a stronger sense of injustice regarding these matters among our own movement and the electorate outside.

Those who are behind the resolution (which will be moved by the present writer) are convinced that the evils complained of have considerably increased with each election, and that, in fact, elections are conducted frequently on the principle that one may as well be hung for a sheep as for a lamb, and a trifling slip or disregard on the one side of the provisions of the law is accepted on the other side as complete license for wholesale disregard of every restraining provision. Not only so, but the fear of the consequences has diminished in recent years owing to the reluctance of the respective headquarters of the political parties to give countenance to election petitions.

The last-mentioned factor is not without its significance, for in itself it is a confession of the unsatisfactory state of the law. This attitude is perfectly understandable when one realises that the out-of-date Act aimed with Victorian severity at compara-

tively trivial delinquencies that are so common that practically every election might be upset on a strict administration of the law, while, owing to the advance of civilisation, and possibly an increase in the resourcefulness of election agents, grave abuses can go unchecked. In truth, the Act strains at a gnat and swallows a camel, and this, added to the increasing daring of our opponents, presents a very grave situation.

If the next General Election is to be fought without public opinion being aroused on these matters, then Labour will enter upon the most crucial election in its history, with the dice more heavily loaded against it than ever, and with its opponents relying on past security for even more audacious Fascism than ever they have been guilty of before.

We do not suggest for one instant that Labour will be able to secure any sort of legislative prevention until its own Cabinet introduces reforming measures. Nor is it proposed that Labour should enter on a series of costly election petitions, merely for the purpose of taking advantage of such acts as may be proved in contravention of the law as it stands. It is, however, suggested that the whole question of the method of conducting popular elections needs re-examination, and that in regard to the practices of which we complain public opinion must be roused to an understanding of their injustice, and to a realisation of the profound disadvantages under which Labour candidates seek their suffrages. There is, we believe, in the English character a latent sense that admires fairplay.

Thus in regard to the use of fleets of motor cars for the conveyance of voters, an uninformed public will accept them, admire the enterprise, organising skill and advertising value of the spectacle turned out, but the suggestion of unfairness and abuse gives pause even to the man in the street; the promotion of a feeling of

injustice means votes. We will go further and say that unless a public opinion is created it will actually be our opponents who will claim sympathy when Labour comes along to rob them of their advantage.

It is not proposed in this article to go into a detailed analysis of the existing law to show where and how amendment is necessary. A few instances will suffice.

In the first place, however, what is necessary is a complete codification of the procedure and prohibitions enacted by law. This is equally necessary in regard to the Franchise itself, for the 1918 Act in itself was a very long way from giving us a new start in these matters, and has itself already been amended several times. Considering the punitive character of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act and similar Acts, these at least require simplification and codification now that the Franchise and political machinery are so widely extended, and so many changes have taken place in other respects.

When the Act of 1883 was passed there appears to have been a sincere desire for the purity of elections, and although more than one loophole was left for the wealthy candidate the legislation was good in the light of those days. One of the most important omissions, however, was the want of simple and summary procedure by which action might be taken to check and punish obvious infringements. Again and again the only remedy for the illegal action of an opponent is to lodge a costly petition which may or may not succeed. Who, for instance, has not been aware at times of the wholesale distribution of Party colours, by our opponents, the employment of canvassers, the distribution of beer, the illegal use of banners and bands, the employment of street-corner spellbinders and bullies, and so forth? Yet what is the remedy?

There ought to be provided a simple remedy to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, together with ample powers of discovery in regard to the production of books and receipts. This latter provision would do something to counter the greatest difficulty that presents itself when illegal practices are known to have taken place. Considerable sums of money are again and again known to have been illegally expended, but what is the proof? We

know of a recent case where over £500 was spent in preliminary enquiry with a view to lodging an election petition, and although it was common property that wholesale illegalities had occurred, the project was abandoned largely, we suppose, because of the difficulties of actual proof.

One of the reasons urged, and suggested above, for the enactment of a new Corrupt Practices Act is that science has made considerable strides since 1883 and that matters not then thought of, and specifically prohibited, may be purchased and provided for under the heading of miscellaneous expenditure, greatly to the disadvantage of one candidate, or they may be omitted from the accounts altogether without offence.

Motors were unknown in 1883, and the feed of corn required by horses during the limited time in which he might be used for the conveyance of voters was not thought a sufficiently important item or possible of inclusion in the expenses. When, however, motors took the place of carriages and petrol and oil became the motive power, it could justly be held that a change had occurred. The modern growth of ownership in cars was a factor unconceived. We feel certain that the framers of the 1883 Act would never have permitted the huge expenditure which the present fleet of motor cars entail could they have foreseen the growth of this election weapon. This is apart altogether from the propriety or otherwise of conveying a voter, on which question we hold that it itself should be made an offence in the new Act.

We elsewhere illustrate the impudent use of prohibited banners by the successful Liberal candidate at Walsall. The insufficiency of the present law is sufficiently illustrated by saying that no action has occurred and that the Liberal circus proprietor still retains his seat—at what actual cost nobody knows.

And below will be found another illustration which "features" a poster used for several elections by a certain Liberal M.P. whose christian name was Thomas. He always retained his seat, for he was a great public benefactor at certain seasons of the year when he gave away loaves to the poor. The significance of his election appeal could not therefore be lost on anyone.



PHOTOGRAPHS OF "BANNERS" USED BY THE LIBERAL CANDIDATE AT WALSTALL IN THE LAST ELECTION. ARE THEY LEGAL?

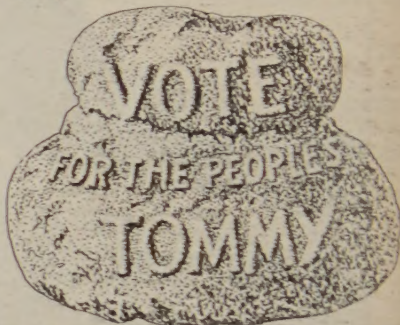


It is in respect of this subtle mass bribery that the law has been found particularly weak, and on occasion after occasion in the past a Member of Parliament morally guilty of corrupt and shameless bribery on a wholesale scale has slipped through the meshes of the Act of Parliament. The recent election petition at Berwick, reported in our last issue, affords another example of how a candidate may spend money in furtherance of his own candidature by bolstering up an altogether imaginary organisation, the expenditure of which is supplementary to and not included in his election expenses.

We will not attempt to look into the future, but there are certain other dangers which may shortly be introduced into our electioneering owing to the changing functions of modern newspapers. The latter have long ceased to be mere purveyors of news and have become the mouthpieces and propagandist weapons of movements and individuals. Newspaper ramifications and methods extend far beyond the printed word. How far may these organs indulge in sky-writing, broadcasting, or even free insurances and the distribution of free samples of their advertisers' wares, during the course of their championship of a particular cause, or even a particular candidate's election campaign? These are not mere bogies, but the next election will probably see us up against serious effort in these directions.

Enough has been said to show that there is a real case for the agitation we have referred to. There is one point, however, on which we have made no comment, and that is a reference in the resolution to a needed enquiry into necessary Franchise reforms. Since 1918 mention of these things has almost died out, with the solitary exception of the extension of the Franchise to women under thirty. Yet what has become of the great Radical demand for "one man one vote"? Plural voting to the extent of two votes was perpetuated by the Act of 1918, and is proving, as it was doubtless intended, a curse to the advance of the Labour movement. We know one constituency where a great Tory leader holds his seat against the majority of the electors of his Division purely on account of the fact that several thousand business men in his Division can exercise two votes instead of one.

Normally they would vote at home, but the law gives them a "business" vote, and this was appealed for and polled on a desperate "S.O.S." That did the trick. But if a "business" vote to the employer, why not to the workman?



A SCHEME TO RAISE ONE THOUSAND POUNDS

For some time past the Woolwich Labour Party has been busy on an ambitious scheme to raise £1,000 for the Party funds.

On December 13th, 14th, and 15th, a "Merrie England" Bazaar and Carnival will be held in the Plumstead Baths, and practically everyone of the numerous organisations and ramifications of the Woolwich Labour Party are at present busy on their own special part in organising and preparing, making and providing for this great event. Apparently all the ward committees, guilds, clubs, and sections will take a definite place and responsibility, and no less than twelve committees are already at work.

An interesting feature of the bazaar is that a share system of payment for goods to be purchased at the bazaar has been commenced. Shares payable at twice a week can be taken up, and it is pointed out that the share system is an easy method of obtaining useful garments, etc., for the winter. Shareholders can take as many shares as they like, and an effort is to be made to supply orders for any particular article if the order is placed before October 31st.

So far as we remember, £450 is the record sum raised by a Labour Party by bazaar effort. Woolwich, therefore, is making a bold bid, but it is shaping well to success.

SOME ANNUAL REPORTS AND BALANCE SHEETS

The annual report of the South Derbyshire Labour Party is encouraging reading. A good deal of detailed organisation has been set up in the constituency during the past 12 months, and a sum of nearly £500 raised during the same period. The earnest and conscientious work put in in all parts of this Division, bore fruit at the General Election, when Mr. S. Truman secured a poll of 10,201 votes, an increase of well over two thousand on his previous poll, and a reduction of the adverse majority by nearly 50 per cent. on an expenditure only about a third of either of his opponents. To secure over 10,000 votes for an expenditure of only £345 7s. 3d. does indeed require a really live Party, and much earnest work.

We note with interest several schemes that the South Derbyshire Party has adopted for raising money. Among them a scheme for selling penny stamps and another consisting of a prize draw. The figures, however, which denote the hold of the Party in the constituency, are the lump sums received from local organisations and individuals. Thus we note a Divisional income (gross) of £81. 7s. 4d. from affiliation fees supplemented by £28 odd special grants from local organisations. For the General Election Fund, grants from Local Parties totalled over £60, from Trades Unions over £126, with a useful donation from the Co-op. Individual subscriptions were just 16s. 3d. short of £100, while there were sundry smaller items. We would commend the South Derbyshire Labour Party as an example to many others, and this perhaps, is the sincerest word of congratulation we may be permitted to give.

The report of the Colne Valley Labour Party is to hand, and like others that have reached us it contains a statement of its General Election finance. In the general fund we notice a satisfactory income from affiliation fees of £126, though there is unfortunately only a very trifling sum noticeable as income from individual members' subscriptions. The General Election Fund, however, contains some very satisfactory figures. No less than £126 was obtained as grants from

Trades Unions, Clubs, etc. Collecting cards produced £108, and collections at meetings £117. The latter item might be well marked by some other Local Parties who feel diffidence at taking collections at election meetings. We ourselves believe that where collections are taken they have a distinct advantage to the candidature and certainly Colne Valley's victory was something to be proud of.

We note that in the statement of accounts before us the following balance sheet is given of the recent Bazaar, though the profit shown is a part of the current year's income. We hope the figures will be an encouragement to others to do likewise.

INCOME.		£	s.	d.
Bazaar Bank Tickets sold	..	188	8	0
Materials supplied to Districts	..	17	10	0
Received from Stalls and Tea	..	172	8	1
Received at Door	..	24	7	7
Personal Subscriptions	..	22	16	5
Bradford goods etc., sold since Bazaar	..	12	9	10
Programme Adverts.	..	2	0	0
Programmes sold	..	1	8	6
		£441	8	6

EXPENDITURE.		£	s.	d.
Paid for Material	..	120	16	6
Printing and Advertising	..	19	0	0
Rent of Rooms	..	5	14	6
Railway Fares	..	4	13	10
Postage	..	2	13	1
Carriage	..	1	6	6
Stationary	..	13	0	0
		160	17	5
Cash in Bank	..	271	9	6
Cash in Sec's hand	..	9	1	7
		£441	8	6

In the annual report of the Woolwich Labour Party now before us there is shown a substantial advance on the income reported in our July issue last year. The total receipts amount to no less than £2,944 8s. 6d. The Woolwich Labour Party is well among those constituency organisations whose transactions are financially large and important, and demand a high degree of business ability.

We note that affiliation fees reach the respectable sum of £420 6s. 4d., which for a two divisioned Borough in these times of depression is in itself a satisfactory figure. Special and election funds, however, from the same organisations reach an additional sum of no less than £1,004 12s. 2d. An interesting summary of individual members' subscriptions from the various wards is given in the statement of

accounts, from which we note that members in thirteen wards contributed over £390.

Some activities of the Woolwich Party are referred to on another page, though it is interesting to here remark that no less than 200 Ward Committee meetings were held in the course of the twelve months.

The balance sheet of the Stoke-on-Trent Labour Party conveys a lesson for other divided Boroughs, for in this instance the spirit of the Labour Party constitution is strictly carried out, and allotments of affiliation fees are properly made to the Local Labour Parties. We note for instance, a contribution to Hanley Division of £38, to Stoke Division of £69, and Burslem Division £54. An interesting item is a contribution towards election literature of £40.

The North Norfolk Labour Party have made great progress under the direction of Mr. S. J. Gee, who has acted as agent for the past two years. A great victory was achieved last November, when Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., was elected. We gather from the annual report that the constituency consists of over four hundred square miles of territory. There are 150 Parishes, and a huge total of road and by-road was covered on cycle in order to carry the message into the villages and hamlets.

Although the Divisional Party is only three years old it has got 60 Labour members on Parish Councils, twenty Labour members on District Councils and Board of Guardians, and four seats on the County Council, and now of course the Parliamentary seat. A good deal of real conscientious work has been put into the Local Organisation, and we note that registration work has received proper attention and that the indoor work has also been thoroughly systematised. 12,004 votes was a sure proof of the steady work put in.

AGENCY NEWS

Mr. Frank Roberts has been appointed agent in the Ludlow Division on a three months' engagement, which it is hoped will become permanent. Mr. Allan Young has been working in the Wrekin Division on a similar arrangement. Mr. W. J. Lewis has been appointed agent in the Nuneaton Division. Mr. H. Hollinshead is now working full time in the Newcastle Division. Mr. S. J. Donoghue having left the Walthamstow Division, has now been appointed full time at Whitechapel. Mr. H. J. H. Cardwell having left St. Alban's, has been appointed full-time agent at Hammersmith. Mr. C. E. Mason has been appointed full-time agent at Battersea. Mr. W. H. Hunt, formerly of Maidstone, has now been appointed to Gravesend, while Mr. H. N. St. Dunstan White, formerly at North Shields, has been appointed to the Holland-with-Boston Division.

The annual conference of the Agents' Association will take place on Monday, 25th June, in the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, at 10-30 a.m. In addition to the formal and ordinary business of the conference, a discussion will take place on a resolution protesting against the unfair disadvantage under which Labour candidates fight elections, owing to the abuse and insufficiency of the Corrupt Practices Acts, with particular reference to the use of motor cars for the conveyance of voters. It is proposed that the Agents' Association shall attempt to raise a public opinion, both in the movement and outside it, for the purpose of drawing attention to the handicaps under which elections are fought by us. For the furtherance of this object, it is suggested that the Party in the House should introduce a Bill dealing with this question and perhaps other matters calling for reform.

The Adjustments' Board of the Labour Party recently gave its decision upon proposals regarding agents' salaries which involved the substitution of a new scale in place of the old one for new agents, and dealt with certain conditions of employment. The whole of the suggestions made were accepted, and have since received the endorsement of the Executive of the National Labour Party.

Co-operation in Advertising and Publicity

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Publicity Matters

The Progressive Publicity Service,
26 Ivy Lane, E.C.4 Telephone: Central 7859.

LOCAL NEWSPAPER MEMS.

A SUCCESSFUL RUN IN NORTH STAFFS.

The "North Staffs Labour News" was launched in January, 1920, and it has therefore stood the test of time. Established by a few enthusiasts, it has been a tremendous power for good in the North Staffordshire area, where no less than four out of five seats were won by Labour in November last. In response to our request, we have received the following figures from Mr. G. H. Meir, and these show something of the power and success which has been achieved by the patient and consistent work of those associated with the newspaper, which, by-the bye, is a monthly issue:—

Total number issued	... 202,422
Total cost of production	... £750 8 11
Income from all sources	
same period	... £772 18 6

From the above figures there would appear to be a nett profit of over £20, but the actual surplus has been very much greater, for no less than 73,650 copies of the "Labour News" have been supplied free for election purposes and distributed prior to polls taken in the Borough. The total cost of special editions for this purpose has been £259 16s. 9d. specifically towards which there has been received the sum of £114 18s. 9d. from the Borough Labour Party, leaving a balance of £134 18s., which has really been contributed to the movement out of the gross profits.

The success of this journal should prove a great encouragement to other areas to imitate its example.

"Futura," that lively little journal of the Labour and Co-operative movement in Brighton and district, is producing a series of articles on "What other towns are doing," dealing with matters of Municipal Trading and so forth. The series is likely to prove of first-rate interest and importance, and the facts and statistics collected therein are of value to the whole movement. We understand that the articles are entirely original, and they certainly contain a battery of instances that will be invaluable to councillors and others in all parts of the country.

A number of thoroughly useful general articles, besides special articles, are appearing in each issue, and these, too, almost all appeal to a wide circle.

We understand that "Futura" would like to make contact with other towns in the South of England desiring to co-operate in its production. Will those interested please note?

Address of "Futura," 93, London Road, Brighton.

Le roi est mort! Vive le roi! The Gloucester "Pioneer" died; the "Labour Observer" was established and lives in its place, and probably the booming success of Labour in ancient Glevum has something to do with the useful little monthly that now serves to propagate the Cause in Gloucester, under the able editorship of that well-tried Socialist Pioneer, Mr. Charles Fox.

The "Labour Observer" is bright and varied in contents. Looking for the matter which would concern our readers, we note with interest in several issues long lists of coming events, the variety and importance of which are a sure index of the activity of the Party, and to some extent a reflection of the work of the paper.

The "Labour Member" is the title of one of those modest typewritten and duplicated periodicals which sometimes blossom out into bigger and more powerful organs. We are not tired yet of saying that the "Labour Organiser" was so begun, and the latest edition to the ranks is one bearing the above title, and issued by Agent W. A. Spofforth, of Westhoughton. Not every constituency, perhaps, may adopt the title, but the paper does show that the local Party are not disposed to rest on their oars with the victory repeated at the last General Election.

The "Labour Member" both educates, propagates and records, and, therefore, fulfils most of the functions of a more ambitious periodical. From it we gather a host of Party activities, and we note with interest that a recent campaign for individual members has resulted in the thousand mark being reached. We trust that Westhoughton will soon possess an orthodox printed paper to carry on the work and to punctuate the victories achieved.

The "Monthly Messenger" is a typewritten periodical on similar lines to the one mentioned above, and the first number was issued in May by Mr. W. H. Hunt, Labour Agent at Gravesend, and formerly of Maidstone.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

Hints to Secretaries

By FRANK H. EDWARDS.

CORRESPONDENCE : POINTS TO BE REMEMBERED.

(1) When writing to speakers enclose in each case a stamped addressed envelope or postcard for reply. The enclosure may ensure an answer.

(2) Offer a choice of dates. This affords speakers an opportunity of selection, and obviates unnecessary correspondence.

(3) Apply in good time, because many speakers have numerous calls on their services and are fully booked up early each year.

(4) Ask for terms, so that there will be no misunderstanding as to your financial responsibilities.

(5) Confirm the booking, thus avoiding the slightest doubt as to the speaker's undertaking.

(6) Give the speaker a reminder of his booking not later than one week prior to the date of the meeting. It would be well if a stamped addressed postcard were enclosed with the reminder, so that you may be assured of the speaker's attendance.

(7) It is advisable to give particulars of trains and the changes en route, and to intimate the arrangements for meeting the speaker and respecting his departure. (Particulars as to means of recognition would be helpful). This information will prove a great convenience to a stranger to the locality.

THE SPEAKER'S EXPENSES.

(8) Always see that the speaker receives his expenses before he makes his departure. This saves trouble later. Non-payment may cause the speaker to refuse to re-visit.

THE SPEAKER'S NEEDS, COMFORTS, ETC.

(9) Attention to the needs and comforts of a speaker ought not to be neglected. See that dinner and tea are provided, where necessary. Do not leave the speaker to find a restaurant. If circumstances require the speaker to reside temporarily arrange for the most suitable accommodation, and make his brief stay as pleasurable as possible.

Fellowship makes his service more agreeable.

(10) Arrangements should be made, if possible, to show the speaker local objects of interest, and to afford acceptable and authentic information concerning the town's affairs. This assistance will be appreciated by many.

HINTS TO SPEAKERS.

(11) Speakers should be advised of any likely opposition and its nature, and hints should be offered, where essential, as to what might be stressed or omitted from their speeches. These hints will be the more acceptable if offered tactfully and more valuable if given prior to the visit.

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SECRETARY AND THE PARTY.

(12) Note the quality of the speaker's service. The memoranda may prove helpful to present secretaries and their successors.

(13) Should it be found that the personal conduct of a speaker is reprehensible, or that his platform style is positively prejudicial, make suitable notes for future guidance, being careful to state the precise grounds of complaint in case action may be necessary.

(14) Remember that attention to detail is the best guarantee of the general success of a meeting.

A reader writes :

"Let me give a word of appreciation to the 'Labour Organiser.' How many secretaries and agents must be thankful for its aid in the preparations for the last election. It was a brilliant contribution to the advance of our movement.

"Now in a dark moment it is showing the way to Local Labour Parties in their embarrassments, and is lending its powerful aid not only to movements that merely give them help from without, but to others that show them how their own efforts might bring success . . . Go on with the good work !"

THE GREAT LABOUR BALLOT

IN AID OF THE LOCAL LABOUR
PARTIES IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Organised by the
Whitechapel and St. George's Labour Party.

2nd Prize

£100

Five Prizes of
£5 each

FIRST PRIZE

£250

3rd Prize

£50

25 Prizes of
£1 each

Tickets **1/-**

Obtainable through your
Local Labour Party

Tickets **1/-**

ALL PRIZE MONEY GUARANTEED.

Other Prizes will be announced later.

*Choose your own Labour Government and
Win **£250***

WHAT IS YOUR PARTY GOING TO DO IN THIS

**Great
Co-operative Scheme?**

HERE IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY!
YOU HAVE NO TIME TO LOSE.

It Costs You Nothing

SPECIAL NOTICE.—Local Labour Parties who have not yet received full details of this Great Co operative Effort are requested to apply for same at once to S. J. Donoghue, Organising Sec., 138 Cannon St. Road, London, E.1

THE BALLOT IS QUITE LEGAL

THE GENTLE ART OF GETTING OUT OF DEBT

We have recently had the pleasure of perusing the annual report of the Skipton Divisional Labour Party. The total income of this Party in the year ending March 31st, 1921, amounted to £242. For the year ending March 31st last the normal income of the Party was nearly double, and amounted to £445. There was to be met last year, however, an election expenditure of over £600, for which the local Party was responsible, in addition to the normal expenditure.

The report before us almost casually mentions that the total money has been raised, with just a modest word of self-congratulation that though in debt at one time to the extent of £300 on the election account, that sum had now been cleared.

We were interested to know how the above marvellous result was achieved, and how the local Labour Parties, I.L.P. branches, etc., derived their funds. We made enquiries of the energetic and able agent, Mr. Hinley Atkinson. From him we gather that Skipton is a huge rural constituency containing 42 polling districts, and over one hundred townships. The Division is not highly organised industrially, and it is therefore on individual membership that the organisation depends for its effectiveness.

Mr. Atkinson states that progress dates from the time the Party began to build up individual membership, on a membership fee of 4/- per annum for men and 3/- for women. This minimum is not, however, a maximum, for there are over five hundred members of the local Labour Parties who pay from 5/- to 8/- per annum. The membership has been steadily progressive over a period of nearly three years, proving that the nominal membership fee is not necessarily either the only or the best way to getting members and to keep them. The total individual membership is close on one thousand.

But the figures given above do not include the finance of local Labour Parties except that portion of their incomes which show as donations or contributions to the Divisional Party's Fund. Such local Parties fight their own local elections and pay for much of their local propaganda, literature, etc.

Our special request for information as to how the £300 balance has been wiped out elicits the fact that the Party owed £310 12s. 1d. as recently as January 27th.

During last autumn the women members in several districts began preparations for sales of work to be held in December and January. The Election necessarily interfered with preparations, but in December and the early months of the present year the projects matured, and no less than four Sales of Work have been held in different districts. These have brought in *nett cash profits* of no less than £70, £60, £50, and £58 respectively, a total of £238. The balance of £72 has been raised by concerts, socials, and individual donations. The agent modestly adds, "There is nothing very wonderful about it, given an enthusiastic membership which can be persuaded to try the big venture." And we agree, but we also think there is something of the enthusiastic agent somewhere in the picture. That there is something in both, shows when one remembers that a few years ago most of the organisations concerned in the above successful work, would be running, at most, timid little functions that might raise from 5/- to £5, while to-day the same Parties book the best and biggest accommodation and make profits of anything from £25 upwards.

We have prevailed upon Mr. Atkinson to give us an article in our next month's issue narrating his experiences in the promotion of some of the functions above-named.

We note that Mr. Atkinson is one of the up-to-date brigade who finds a car a necessity in covering his district. He is a keen motorist and has graduated from a "Triumph" combination to a fast serviceable three-wheeler.

A novel method of securing a congregation was recently instituted by a parson of a Irish church. "Knockers-up" were detailed to go round the streets and waken sleepy worshippers and bring them in—a modern version of bidding the guests from the byways and hedges. Old people were called for with vehicles, and mothers who brought babies were relieved, while attending the service, by a squad of voluntary nurses—female, we presume. The hall, which holds 3,000 people was crowded. Worth imitation, isn't it?

WOMEN'S WORK IN THE LABOUR PARTY*

We are afraid that the title of the above pamphlet does not quite convey the purpose and intent that is behind this most valuable and instructive publication.

We ourselves rather looked for a resume, or even, perhaps, a laboured essay, on the purpose and scope of women's work within the Party. We certainly, from the title, did not expect the profoundly valuable little treatise which we found dealing with the detailed part which women play in the organisation and business of the Party.

Specially written for women, the pamphlet is invaluable; also to the secretary or indeed to any officer in the movement. It is only when one comes to summarise the contents that one realises how detailed and wide to cover the field is, when we seek to compass the work of a local Party, let alone women's special sphere in it.

"Women's Work in the Labour Party" is essentially an ordered collection of notes for speakers and workers' classes, prepared by Dr. Marion Phillips and Miss Grace Tavener, and it is illustrated by charts designed by Mrs. Andrews. There are twelve "lectures" contained therein, each of which we would dearly like to quote in full in the "Labour Organiser," but it is better that our readers should pay their sixpence and buy the book.

The first lecture deals with the duties of a secretary. This gives very fully the nature of the duties with specimens

of membership card, agenda, minutes and so forth. We are privileged to reproduce below one of the illustrations to this subject. The card system is advocated, and the specimen shows the card of a member who was a widow and has married again, a change of address being also shown. As illustrating how in this book the co-operation of the Women's Sections with the rest of the Party is fostered, the secretary is told on this subject that the duplicate of all membership cards should be sent to the secretary of the local Labour Party.

The second lecture deals with the work of the literature secretary. Lecture three deals with the treasurer, and in this we meet specimens of balance sheets, petty cash book, etc. Other lectures deal with the work of the committee, chairman, deputations, debates, conferences and delegates, public meetings, canvassing, mass canvassing, cottage meetings and village meetings, how to hold annual business meetings, etc., with a specimen of a secretary's report.

There follows to all this, Mrs. Andrews' admirable charts which serve as a basis for lectures on social questions, the policy of the Party, etc.

We are not going to admit that this is a book purely for women. There should be a big sale for it amongst all responsible in any way for the organisation of the Party.

*"Women's Work in the Labour Party," published by the Labour Party, price 6d., post free 7½d.

Name ~~Brown~~, Mrs Annie. { Now Charles, Mrs
Annie. See new
card under C.

Address ~~4 Smith Street~~

12 Robinson Rd

Date

Subscription

s. d.

4-2-21

1 .

8-1-22

1 6

~~10-3-22~~

See new
card.

Ward or Polling District: Ward B.

Ward C.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

Correspondents are required to give their full name and address, not, however, necessarily for publication. Replies from general correspondents cannot be given through the post. It is imperative that where a reply depends on a statement of fact (such, for instance, as qualification of an elector to be on the register), the fullest information should be given.

Question.—I would be glad if you could suggest where I could procure a sample of what you consider is the most efficient and up-to-date canvass card, also polling card. I have also been endeavouring to secure a leaflet that would explain a Polling Agent's duties. Can you help me?

Answer.—There are a number of canvass cards and systems available and most Labour printers supply a card. Each of the printers advertising in this issue supply both canvass cards and polling cards, and we would advise our correspondent to apply for samples. The Labour Party also supplies both the single and family card. Which is the best system depends almost entirely upon the locality and the organisation available. Given an efficient organisation, the single card system is infinitely the best, and is one that is readily adaptable for polling day use. We strongly favour also a canvass card which when written up for the canvasser supplies him with previously collected information as to the Trades Union and similar membership of the elector.

We do not know of any leaflet dealing with the duties of a polling agent (otherwise called a personation agent), but the matter was fully discussed in our Special Election Edition, published in April last year.

IMPORTANT TO NAVAL VOTERS

The following paragraph in a recent Home Office Circular to Registration Officers is of considerable importance where naval voters are likely to be found:—

"Attention is invited to the intimation, contained in the circular of 11th November, 1921, that a naval or military voter who could not be traced at the qualifying address should not be removed from the Register unless he

had ceased to serve in the Forces or was known to have been registered elsewhere, and that the Admiralty were prepared to answer enquiries regarding serving sailors. It is important that if, on such grounds, the name of a naval rating is being removed from the Register, without evidence that the man has become registered elsewhere, particulars of the case should at once be communicated (if this has not already been done) to the Accountant General of the Navy (Branch 9a), in order that the Accountant Officer of the ship or establishment in which the man is serving may be notified and steps taken to secure that he completes a fresh Form S. 1335a for his new address."

In further reference to the above, it may be interesting to quote the following from the circular of November 11th, 1921, above referred to, which reads as follows:—

"In some instances, owing to the removal of the relatives, a man hitherto registered as a naval or military voter for premises may not be returned in Form A, or otherwise be traceable at the premises. On such grounds alone the omission of the name of the man from the register will, of course, not be justified; and the Registration Officer will doubtless act as a general rule on the view that the name should be continued on the new register unless he has ascertained that the man is no longer serving in the Forces, or, if so serving, has become registered for another qualifying address."

A USEFUL FIFTY-TWO POUNDS

Hearnor is not the name of a constituency; it is the name of a small town and urban district area in the Ilkeston Division, and the Hearnor and District Local Labour Party are to be congratulated on the success attending a recent Labour Fair, organised by them "In aid of the Fighting Fund of the Labour Party"—an expression we quite like.

Quite a bonnie afternoon and evening's events were arranged, including competitions, concerts, stalls and entertainments. The programme was very effectively done, and a number of advertisements contributed to its cost. Considering that only two months' preparation took place, £52 is a very gratifying result.

Labour Organisers

Should write at once
for a copy of the new
Catalogue of Books
on

Co-operation and Allied Subjects

Published by the
Co-operative Union.

They should at the
same time order a
copy of

The Political Aspect of Co-operation

By

ALFRED BARNES, M.P.
Post free 8d.

Order from the
Co-operative Union, Ltd.
Holyoake House, Han-
over Street, Manchester.

REVIEWS

"THE LABOUR MAGAZINE." Price 6d.
(Trade Union Congress and Labour
Party.)

Although strangely enough not mentioned on the cover as among the principal contents, an article by Herbert Tracey in this month's "Labour Magazine" on Sidney Webb as one of the "Makers of the Labour Movement," is undoubtedly the most interesting and will be the most widely read among the varied fare provided. Mr. Tracey makes great claims when he says: "It was Mr. Webb who transformed the insurrectionary Socialism of a generation ago into a political programme which appealed to the commonsense of the British working-class movement and brought the Labour Party into existence. To him, more than to any other single person, it is possible to attribute Labour's present-day intellectual ascendancy. He delivered the Socialist movement in this country from the twin errors of the dreamers who planned Utopias and the visionaries who conspired to make revolutions. At every stage of

its development the Labour movement has, consciously or unconsciously, been under the influence of Mr. Webb."

We doubt if Mr. Webb, who is a modest man, would dare to claim all that, but there are, indeed, few men who could approach the record which alone could suggest such mention. The article is instructive reading to very many who do not dream of the influence that Sidney Webb has exercised in so many quarters, and it is particularly timely in view of the fact that Mr. Webb will be the chairman at the forthcoming Labour Party Conference.

Other contents of this month's "Labour Magazine" include an article by Frank Hodges on "The Present Position in the Coal Industry," and an equally timely one on the "Need for Agricultural Wages Boards," by Noel Buxton, M.P. There are a number of miscellaneous instructive contributions, together with the usual features which go to make an altogether readable publication.

"THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF CO-OPERATION." By ALFRED BARNES, M.P.
Price 6d. (The Co-operative Union, Ltd., Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester.)

"The Political Aspect of Co-operation" is not a very inspiring title, and I confess I took to bed with me this book and three others, to each of which I allotted a more or less casual perusal, by way of making a few mental notes whereby I might salve my conscience and discharge an obligation. But Alfred Barnes grips, and I did not put down his book until I had consumed all its pages, including two appendices — and even the advertisements.

One of the most important matters for all interested in Labour organisation to study at the present time is the attitude and mind of the great Co-operative movement toward the same ideals that the Labour Party is striving for, and a proper conception of the Co-operative political outlook and claims is necessary both for the purpose of felicitous working in the common field and for understanding the real progress that Society is making toward the common goal.

The story of the growth of the political instinct in the Co-operative movement, as is told in this book, makes attractive reading, particularly

to one who, like myself, was cradled in Co-operation and received an education through its means. Mr. Barnes recalls the one-time great influence on Co-operation of staunch Liberals like H. Vivian, Fred Maddison, and others whose virtuous condemnation of political action always ended up by moving a resolution on Free Trade or some other similar Liberal panacea. After tracing the evolution of independent political action through two decades, Mr. Barnes brings us to the circumstances of the war. "Co-operators saw Capitalism, alert, vigilant, assertive everywhere . . . for every privilege lost, Capitalism secured a dozen others. . . . When machinery was created to prevent profiteering, they used it to legalise profiteering. . . . But the Co-operative movement was helpless . . . it had neither political nor industrial power. . . . Co-operators saw all this and more, they saw that all these abuses were possible only with the consent of the Government, backed by the House of Commons, and how in the past they had foolishly held aloof from politics."

The passages in this book dealing with the political policy of the Co-operative Party deserves careful attention, for there are many in our own Party who do not appreciate the extraordinary similarity of aim, and even of phraseology, that exists between the Co-operative Party and the Labour Party. Mr. Barnes' remarks on the relationship of the Parties both in regard to the development of the idea of independence and the possibilities of the future are worth quotation.

"The Trades Union movement being so inseparably linked with the Labour Party, it follows as a matter of deduction that if the Co-operative movement and Trades Unions have so much in common as to make an alliance desirable and necessary, the political interests of the Co-operative movement cannot fundamentally conflict with the policy of the Labour Party which is largely the political reflex of the Trade Union movement." Here Mr. Barnes is but adapting the first problem of Euclid to prove that the sides of an equilateral triangle are equal.

He says, again, "The Co-operative Party's growth is accounted for partly by the fact that it has received con-

siderable help from the machinery of the Labour Party . . . whenever the Co-operators have asked the Labour Party for help they have never appealed in vain. . . ."

"When the Co-operative Party was established its relations with the Labour Party immediately became a subject of supreme importance to both. This issue is still working itself out, but there is sufficient evidence of tendencies already in existence to be able to assert with some definiteness that the ultimate result will be a Labour and Co-operative alliance or their fusion in one great People's Party."

There is a pregnant passage in the book in which reference is made to the Co-operative Women's Guild, and its aid in organising women as consumers in relation to their influence on the women's political vote. There is an underlying significance to this that makes one wish the above-mentioned day was somewhat nearer, for the problem of the women's vote has not yet been mastered by the democratic parties. Altogether "The Political Aspect of Co-operation" is a reliable, readable history and summary of the Co-operative Party, and as such it should be in the hands of every responsible worker in the Labour movement. We could wish that there was one more chapter bringing us down to the present moment.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

"Production." By George Belt. How to produce speeches, essays, pamphlets, reports, etc. Price 1/-. (The Herald League, 2, Carmelite Street, E.C.4).

"Stabilisation. An Economic Policy for Producers and Consumers." By E. M. H. Lloyd. Price 4/6. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.).

"How to Get Houses." By George Hicks. Price 3d. (T.U.C. and Labour Party, 32-34 Eccleston Square, S.W.1).

"Interim Report of Special Committee of Enquiry on Production." Price 4d. (T.U.C. and Labour Party).

"The Big Business Budget." By Philip Snowden, M.P. Price 1d. (T.U.C. and Labour Party).

"Sword-blades or Ploughshares?" By F. H. Rose, M.P. Price 3d. (T.U.C. and Labour Party).

*To be reviewed next month.

WHERE WOOLWICH LEADS

A STRIKING RECORD AND STILL GOING ONE BETTER

The illustration here given is one of the many methods by which Woolwich Labour Party is now boosting its individual Membership campaign. We are indebted to Mr. W. Barefoot for permission to lift the illustration from the "Pioneer" the bright and well-printed monthly, which succeeded the well-known weekly of the same name. Woolwich now boasts a membership of over 3,000; of this, women membership is over one thousand, and Woolwich received the congratulations of the National Labour Women's Conference on being the first organisation to reach a woman membership of four figures.

From the "Pioneer" we also glean a list of the Local Party's activities for the ensuing month. The following excerpt does give some idea of the hum of things, for obviously the list is incomplete and leaves out of account altogether the enormous amount of Municipal and public work of that sort done by the members of the Party.

- Saturday, June 2nd.
 Pioneer Social Club. Dancing Class,
 proceeds to Bazaar Fund.
 Eltham Ward. Char-a-banc outing.
 Pioneer Tennis Club. Dance at 7.30 p.m.
- Tuesday, June 5th.
 Central Ward at 7.30 p.m., Well Hall and
 Eltham Ward at 8 p.m.
- Wednesday, June 6th.
 Whist Drive. Proceeds to Bazaar Fund.
- Thursday, June 7th.
 St. Mary's Ward at 8 p.m.
 Abbey Wood Ward at 8 p.m.
- Friday, June 8th.
 Women's Section at 3 p.m. Speaker,
 Dr. Ethel Bentham.
- Saturday, June 9th.
 Pioneer Social Club. Dancing Club.
 St. Nicholas Ward. Social and Dance,
 Proceeds Bazaar Fund.

Is there not in the above a really fine mixture of work and play for everybody.



*What you save in Cash
 you lose in Efficiency
 unless all the officers of
 your Party get the*

Labour Organiser

HINTS ON THE ADDRESSING OF ENVELOPES

By FRANK H. EDWARDS.

III.

In the preceding contribution it was contended, for reasons therein elaborated, that perhaps the best method to adopt was to address one envelope to the members of a family, not one to each member of the household, but where more than one family or where persons not of the family were resident at the house, such people should, of course, receive separate treatment. The undernoted hints are, in some respects, based on the adoption of this method.

It has been remarked that there are three styles of writing—first, that which everybody can read; second, that which only the writer can decipher; third, that which nobody can understand, not even the writer. Election envelopes may be written by one person, checked by a second, delivered by a third, and, finally, the addresses read by at least another person. For the benefit of those handling and receiving the envelopes it is advisable that the writing should be clear and distinct. On account of the immensity of the task—the greater if one envelope be addressed to each person—a painstaking or elaborate style of writing is quite unnecessary, but legibility is essential. Written in a distinguished hand, the address may be indistinguishable.

All people connected with the Party may not be suitable for this clerical work. It is better to discover who are the best adapted for the purpose by discreet and circuitous means before enlisting service, rather than to find afterwards that simple instructions have been ignored and that, as a consequence, there is a wastage of effort and envelopes, whole bundles having to be destroyed. A short while ago I had the experience of receiving gratuitous advice on the Party's International Policy from a member who proved utterly incapable of acting on the plain hints given to him regarding the small matter of addressing envelopes, and all that he did—fortunately not very many—could not be utilised.

The task of the writer should be made as light and easy as possible. In

many towns there are long streets, and relief can be afforded by obtaining a cheap rubber stamp outfit and stamping the names of such streets on the required number of envelopes, thus obviating the necessity of writing the names of these thoroughfares.

Then it is surely unnecessary to have the Christian names written in full. It is sometimes not merely unnecessary but very undesirable. Those persons who made their first acquaintance with this planet at the time of the South African War may find anything but satisfaction in being addressed as

MR. KITCHENER METHUEN JONES,
or

MRS. VICTORIA LADYSMITH TOMKINS. Surely it is easier for the writer and less painful for the recipient—and we should be concerned in facilitating the work of the one and in soothing the feelings of the other—if the names be given as

MR. K. M. JONES
and

MRS. V. L. TOMKINS. Married ladies often have their tender susceptibilities offended by the use of first names for which they have no special liking. It is quite needless to address the elector as

MRS. MARTHA JANE BLACK,
when

MRS. M. J. BLACK would better serve the purpose. Where members of the family have similar names or initials it is advisable to distinguish, as for example:—

MR. J. SMITH,
MR. J. SMITH, jun.

or
MR. J. BROWN (his first name being "John")
MR. JAMES BROWN.

Some Overseers arrange for the printing of the Register to be done one way, some another. Often the entries for a given residence are arranged in the alphabetical order of the Christian names. I think it is advisable that the envelope should be addressed in the conventional order—first the man, then his wife, and then the members of the family.

It is advisable to show the accepted courtesies when addressing electors. The voter should be styled "Mr.", "Mrs.", or Miss." The man, who at work is a number or at best, a "hand" and is known by his associates as "Bill," becomes "William Jenkins,

Esquire," at election times. If this elector be introspective he may feel a contempt for this archaism. We of the Labour Party can respect the conventions in regard to the form of address without imitating the artificialities practised by our opponents. There may be some difficulty in determining whether to address a lady as "Mrs." or "Miss." The addresser can meet that by writing "Mrs. or Miss" before the name, or the facile penman can write the designation in such a way that it can be read as either "Mrs." or "Miss."

The individuality of the elector should be recognised as far as is possible by the method of addressing which is recommended. For that reason certain easy forms should be avoided. Let me cite cases:

MR. & MRS. J. SMITH,
MR. T. do.

or
MR. T. DODDS
" C. "
" H. "

It takes longer to do the work becomingly, but it is worth the extra effort. Compare the examples given above—not by any means hypothetical cases—with what is recommended:

MR. J. SMITH
MRS. E. SMITH
MR. T. SMITH

or
MR. T. DODDS
MR. C. DODDS
MR. H. DODDS.

On the other hand there can be no objection against the use of abbreviations in writing the names of streets—"St.", "Rd.", "Av.", "Cres." These shortenings are well enough understood. There is one sufficient reason for the employment of these contractions—they are easier and quicker to write.

There is no need to write the name of the town. Even where there are two or more streets of the same name in the one township, reference to the precise location may not be necessary, though it may be advisable to state the name of the district in case the envelopes pass through the post. It is much quicker for the writer not to concern himself with the full address, but the name of the district can be stamped on the envelope afterwards.

One matter ought to be insisted upon: the envelopes should be placed

face downwards when written. Any departure from this requirement may mean that much work is occasioned in sorting.

It is advisable that space should be provided on the left of the names for the Register Numbers to be inserted later on the envelopes; but this will apply in the case of one serving only. Compliance with this requirement is assured if the envelopes be printed with dotted lines for the names.

In the case of two or more lots of envelopes being addressed, the most reliable workers could do the first lot, and then the addressed envelope could be copied by the less experienced helpers.

(To be continued.)

ON TRAINING WOMEN

A COLUMN OF PRACTICAL HINTS.

A very neat and carefully arranged handbook has been published by the Unionist Party on "The Organisation of Women." They, as well as ourselves, realise the need of special "features" for the help of women workers.

Some of the women organisers of the Labour Party have been conducting, during the winter, special speakers' or training classes, for the benefit of the women within the party, who are anxious to know *how* business should be conducted and *how* addresses should be prepared, even if they never really become great speakers or organisers.

For the lesson on "Chairmanship," etc., Walter Citrine's "Labour Chairman" has been used as a sort of guide or text book—and the women have been taking the chair in turns at each lesson. Also special instruction about the preparation of meeting agendas and the keeping of the minute book has been given; some of the amateur sec.'s have shown remarkable skill in the writing of minutes and neatness. (How we wish *every* sec. had the opportunity of knowing the *correct* way to record his or her minutes.)

Following chairmanship and minute writing, has come the "way to organise public meetings," and "debates," with all the arrangements gone into, and mock public meetings and debates held with women as speakers, or debaters who have never done this sort

of thing before. In some cases the result has been quite startling, showing that special gifts in relation to speaking and debating have been unknown until tried in these classes.

No special guarantee can ever be given as to how many members of such a class will really become public speakers, but it is certainly a help and a relief to know that in certain Labour Parties there are at least 20 women who can never say they didn't know *how* to take the chair or to organise a meeting in their particular ward or section. They are realising that "knowledge is power."

Certain lessons have been confined to the production of the voice and correct breathing. Quite a lot of these lessons have been partly taken from Belt's Course, and new book, "Production." These lessons have been of the greatest help to women, because they are a great step towards self-control as well as control of the voice.

We all know the effects of a woman's voice (*well used*) on an audience, and the last General Election showed the need for more and more women, ready trained, to take the chair or move a "motion" at a meeting.

It is not possible for the organisers to personally conduct these classes in every constituency, but there is no reason why Women's Sections and local Labour Parties should not hold these classes next autumn and winter, appointing a local leader for just the organising of the classes, and then following the valuable hints in Citrine's and Belt's books.

NEXT MONTH

The Psychology of Political Parties (continued) by the Editor.

Out of the Rut—Some Ideas and Activities in Brief.

Our Secretary's Page—Help and Hints in Season.

Law and Practice—Simple Law Talks and Problems Explained.

Together with a selection of Useful and Informative Articles by Successful Organisers on the methods they adopt.

AGENTS AND LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES

Who should be the Employers?

By M. CROSSLEY, *Agent, Sowerby.*

The conditions of employment, pay, etc., of Labour Election Agents has been responsible for a considerable amount of discussion, and generally appears in one aspect or another upon the agenda of the Party Conference. The question is of first-rate importance to all who seek the welfare of the political Labour movement, and to none more so than those men and women who are called upon to bear the burden and the strain of maintaining an efficient organisation in the constituencies.

The E.C. of the Labour Party have had the matter under consideration, while the Agents' Association have made some attempt to draw up a suggested "model agreement" embodying the terms of service, etc., of agents, but very little progress has as yet been made. In my opinion these attempts were foredoomed to failure. In the present stage of development of the Party, coupled with the haphazard methods of financing constituency organisations, not even a body of supermen could be expected to draft one common agreement calculated to cover the multifarious methods of employing and paying agents that are in vogue at the present time.

It is true that as a result of negotiations an agreement was arrived at respecting salary. To establish a minimum salary is, of course, a good thing, but that did not give any guarantee that the money could be raised, and the obligations to the agents thus entered into be carried into effect. To try to understand the present conflicting methods of employing and paying agents is a necessary preliminary to effecting any real and lasting improvement. There can be no satisfactory type of agreement for agents until something is done to standardise the conditions surrounding our employment.

We have at present some agents whose whole salary is paid by the Trade Union responsible for financing the candidate, and who, presumably, take their directions from the employing Union, and not from the constituency party. Others are servants

of the constituency party, and their salary is dependent upon the money which can be raised inside the constituency by means of affiliation fees, individual subscriptions, bazaars, prize draws, etc., which generally means that the agent is charged with the responsibility of raising his own salary in addition to his work of organising the constituency. Again, some constituencies receive an annual grant from the body financing the candidate, part of which may be used to pay the agent's salary. Some, again, act as secretary to the Trades Council where the Trades Council functions as the local Labour Party, doing the joint work for the one salary, whilst in some cases the organisation responsible for the candidate do not believe in the necessity of full-time agents and content themselves by making a small grant for organising expenses, leaving the work to be done voluntarily. Some others merely make a grant towards the actual election expenses. Another method, employed chiefly by the miners, is to appoint a political agent (who must be a miner) who has oversight over a whole county, but more often over two or three constituencies.

Not only do the methods of employing and paying agents vary in almost every constituency, but the method of financing candidates, and the relationship between the financing organisation and the constituency vary with almost every Union. Scarcely any two Unions work on similar lines. It is this diversity of practice which makes one almost despair of ever being able to deal effectively with this question. Nevertheless, it is of supreme importance to the agents, and even more so to the Party itself, that some attempt should be made to standardise the conditions between constituencies and organisations financing candidates, as the necessary basis for laying down the conditions of employment, pay, etc., of agents, and determining their general relationships towards the constituency and the candidate with whom they have to work.

I am aware, of course, that this raises the whole question of the methods of financing local Labour Parties, and in my opinion this problem will remain unsolved until some improvement has been effected in the organisation of the Party, and the relationship of the Trade Unions and other affiliated societies thereto. It

would seem that before we can hope to find a way out, and to give, as we ought to give, a lead to the constituencies in this matter, there are a few things we have got to get clear in our own minds. Discussions that have taken place have made one thing quite clear—that agents are by no means agreed amongst themselves as to the best method of employing and paying agents. The opposing views may be roughly divided into three groups. Those who hold the view that the body financing the candidates should pay the whole of the agent's salary, others who hold the National Labour Party should appoint, pay, and control all the agents, while another section hold very strongly that in all cases the agent should be the servant of the constituency organisation with whom he is working, irrespective of which particular body may be financing the candidate.

I am very definitely of the opinion that the method of allowing agents to be selected, controlled and paid by "employing bodies" other than the constituency organisation for which they are to work is vicious in principle, bad for the agent, and detrimental to the best interests of the Labour movement. The proposal that the National Party should accept responsibility for all agents involves some method of pooling political levies, and this is so obviously impossible at present, even if it were desirable, which view I don't accept, that it is scarcely worth while discussing it. I hold that the interests of the agents and the Labour Party will best be secured by working for the recognition of the principle of constituency control, and feel that any proposal which fails to recognise this principle will only tend to strengthen and to perpetuate an unsatisfactory state of affairs which is wholly bad for the agents, and is calculated to hinder the development of the Party in the country.

Vital as this question is to agents, it is vastly more important to the Party as a whole. If the Party is to justify itself before the people of this country, and to become a real force in the lives of the people, some method must be discovered whereby the Party shall stand broad-based upon the constituency, deriving its strength and its political fervour direct from the men

(Continued on page 27.)

*Our Holiday Supplement.***AN INVASION OF SCOTLAND****A TRAVEL STORY OF THE EDINBURGH CONFERENCE**

By THE EDITOR.

Picture, ladies and gentlemen, a 10-h.p., grey two-seater with double dickey and other impedimenta as per makers' catalogue. Picture also, if you can, the hero of this tale—Wellington boots, tattered suit, up to the neck in grease and grime, oiling, greasing, washing, tuning and generally getting in such a mess as only motorists can when preparing for a summer tour.

At last it is over, the luggage is aboard, including extra blankets for the northern clime, and our preparations are complete for the invasion of Scotland. At 8.30 a.m. there is a low purr, a sudden swish and—to Edinburgh, the Athens of the North!

Now did I have space to do justice I should begin right here to describe the journey. Worcestershire hath charms, and I'm not the only one. It could equal, or at least, approach Scottish scenery, for rugged outline and bare hill, or for soft contour and wooded dale, swift-flowing stream and pebbly torrent. In these things it can rival the land of Burns, though it is beyond the wealth of Scotland to show us the equivalent of the smiling fruit lands, the ordered orchards and the intensive cultivation of the countryside I am leaving behind me!

Thirty miles and Bridgnorth; in itself a miniature Edinburgh with its High-town and its Lowtown, its castle on a rock, and its romance of a Queen. Bridgnorth, like the northern capital, has a pathos all its own.

There is a story told of a certain election in Bridgnorth where one candidate got no votes at all. In this part of the country whenever they wish to express one-sidedness, or to indicate that a man has a beating, a football team has met disaster, or that somebody has a family of all one kind, they soliloquise that it's "Like the Bridgnorth election—all one way." Labour recently had experience of some of the same one-sidedness, for Bridgnorth is in the Ludlow Division!

Here's Wrekin, a hill to remind us that all the land of song and story is not in Scotland. We perhaps shall think of it again at Skiddaw, to whom

Wrekin sent its fiery message via, if Macaulay was right, a more circuitous route than we are going to pursue. And so to Whitchurch, Tarporley, and Warrington, that delectable watering-place on the banks of the Mersey which marks the first stage of the journey. For miles past we have gradually been leaving behind us all the characteristics of typical English landscape beauty. Such as we shall see beyond is either coastal or Scottish in its character. England is really left behind at Warrington, and I am not sorry to be able to debit the northern half of the British Isles with all the iniquities of Lancashire, though perhaps it's a bit rough on Scotland. The border should have been from Hell to Hull or Halifax. Scotch invaders might then have found useful places for destruction.

Lancashire is a land of rebbles. There must be billions and trillions of them. I remember in the days of long ago when as a punishment for my sins I lived some years in a Lancashire town, how miles of streets were laid with cobbles that made the poor feet ache; as if the heart didn't ache, too, for the green land that wasn't to be found for miles around.

On the good roads south of Warrington, Beattie has beaten an even pulse. Our on-coming has been swift, and we are at Warrington before the children are out of school. Oh, these hateful Lancashire towns, democratic tramways, and precipices in the road. I feel real glad that this part of the universe is being traversed before dinner. Nevertheless, Wigan is reached at last, and I chance it for an early lunch, then on to Preston, on which road I rediscover that even Lancashire has charms if one can forget its Industrialism.

At proud Preston we get our first sniff of the sea. It is mixed a bit, of course, because Preston isn't pretty, and, like other towns, it has smells of its own. It is here, however, that we really do get reminded of our proximity to the coast, for Blackpool is writ over everything. Still, we hie on to Garstang and Lancaster, where the real sea smell

Our Holiday Supplement.

of Morecambe Bay blows in freshly on our near side. It is here we begin to think of Scotland, and in our zest for invasion scare the life out of several respectable old ladies who have come down to the sea not to bathe.

And now I am really interested, and I sincerely trust that you, too, dear readers soon will be. Away in front the Westmorland hills give a skyline of purest grandeur. All through Lancashire the Pennines have bridged the sky on the off side, and on the country stretches I have thought of the Lancashire witches and how they played over the hilltops that are in view; across from peak to peak, and down the woodland valleys that we have peeped at now and again.

The Pennines have now come nearer, and in front they form, with the lake-land mountains, a veritable barrier to the North. The highway we are on is historic. It is the Great North Road, and one of the few avenues into Scotland. It is the road down whence traffic wended and invaders came right back into Roman times. There is a way through that mountainous barrier in front, and only one real way. It was the way Prince Charlie came and the Pretender's army, and it is the way they rolled back into Scotland, broken and defeated, to make one more stand on English soil in a hostile country just outside Penrith—the very last battle that was fought on English soil.

Yes, Scotland may only be invaded by road at two or three points, and nature has dictated them. From the western road that we are taking there stretches away to the east the broad Pennines merging into the Cheviots in the narrow neck of the present border. Peak and moorland are an even finer barrier than the Roman wall that stretched from the Solway to the North Sea, and unless you take the Great North Road upon the West you must choose the Great North Road upon the East and enter Scotland by one of the avenues of its delta.

But I have overstepped myself. We are not going into Scotland yet. Let us linger in the border country. There is surely nothing better in Scotland than the peeps at Heaven we get before we enter Kendal! At the latter place the Great North Road sternly turns to the right, and so we miss Windermere and the country of the

Lakes. We choose instead the hard and bleak road up Shap to Penrith, once the most dreaded portion of the whole road from London to Edinburgh, and this is where again we enter what really pertains to Scotland. Shap is a great climb, but this doesn't trouble Beattie, and so I look about me.

Away to the West stretch the moors merging into woodland and deer forest, while across the valley to the East the last great peaks of Pennine rear their crests—the ancient sentinels of this northern pass. Whinfell and Orton Scaur, both beacon hills, are hereabouts. In this part men lived in daily terror, or, rather, nightly terror, of the coming of the Scots. In the Borderland they built Peel towers within which shelter might be taken in time of raids and from which, too, the operations of defence were conducted. Men held their lands by virtue of rendering service in the border warfare or of lighting beacon fires of warning by night. The country round is the sort we shall see again and again in Scotland, and, as in Scotland, we shall sometimes be surprised to learn the height of the hills around. There is, for instance, Cross Fell across the way yonder, 2,800 feet above sea level. It looks a little hill not half so bold or high as the Worcestershire Beacon at Malvern, that peeps in at our back-room windows. Yet it is a famous hill and has a special interest to electioneers. It is said that one great magnate used to light a bonfire and give bread and cheese and beer to two or three thousand people on the top of the hill whenever his man got in. This to-day would be a "Corrupt Practice," but I'll guarantee the villagers would vote it a mighty decent one, though there was the trouble of going to the top of Cross Fell to consummate it.

Now let's take that eleven miles drop to Penrith, in the neighbourhood of which Dick Whittington was born, a fact which specially interests me.

Penrith has another claim to fame; for in this place there are the remains of a castle, built, however, not by some feudal lord for aggression and tyranny, but erected by the people themselves for common defence. Not but what there were not plenty of the aristocracy who in their time ruled the district with an iron hand. Indeed, there was

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one who, though admirable in some things, was certainly a bit of a termagant. This was Anne, Countess of Pembroke, to whom the king's secretary wrote suggesting the name of a gentleman to serve in Parliament. Anne, who had defied Cromwell, wrote to say she had been bullied by an usurper and now neglected by a court, but she wouldn't be dictated to by a subject, "Your man shan't stand!" And stand he didn't! Nominations were not all honey in those days.

Penrith to Carlisle is 18 miles of some of the best road in England. I did it in precisely 30 minutes and without risk or accident, but it is worth while tarrying on some high point hereabouts, for England is fast falling behind, and there is something good of both countries to be seen. Way back behind Skiddaw and Helvellyn top the rest of Westmorland's peaks, that hide her watered valleys. Away to the left the Solway Firth shows shimmering in the setting sun, which also lights up Great Grifell, the elephant-shaped landmark of the Southern coast of Scotland, behind which lies Dumfries, and further on the road to Glasgow. In front Hartfell, Ettrick and the Cheviots frown across the border, though the Cheviots swing around to the right, till at last they meet again those heights of Pennine before referred to. Carlisle is a city of the plain.

I entered Carlisle at 7 p.m. I was hungry and in a hurry, so I roused a burgher of Carlisle and ordered victuals. I am afraid, however, that the flies roused me, too, and when I had found three in the milk, two in the jam, and one in my tea, I protested. This roused my burgher of Carlisle once more. I think he thought I ought to like flies. Anyway I don't think he was an Englishman, for my parting remembrance of the old country was that I had been robbed therein and nearly poisoned!

Here's for Bonnie Scotland! How the road calls one. It is a straight 12 miles from Carlisle to the border, but you know it when you are over. I approached Scotland with high hopes, and expected to find the border marked by a sort of triumphal arch and armed guard, a policeman, or at least a pub. I found neither; nothing but a board by the road side and pot holes on the

Scotch side of it. I entered Scotland with a light heart, but on the return journey, after eighty miles over Scotch roads, I took my hat off to the border and sighed in thankfulness that at last I had reached real roads and civilisation. Scotland may be the land of romance, but its roads would bump the hearts out of modern lovers.

And at the threshold of Scotland romance begins. Here on the English side is Netherby Hall, where young Lochinvar gave his sweetheart the glance which fetched her from the altar of his rival to the horse of his own, and the freedom and the happy ending it insured. Away from the road we are taking lies Gretna Green, where again the romance wasn't Scotch, but imported. After that, then we will pursue our way, slyly remarking that much more of the romance of the country we are about to enter doesn't spring from real life, but from the immortal writings of Sir Walter Scott. We shall soon be in the Scott country, and almost every town and road and hill will tell its tale of soul-sick passion, or love triumphant. There is more than one landmark, too, that tells of desperate contest or bloody deed. Solway Moss, close by as we enter Scotland, tells a tale of disaster to Scottish arms, and some miles along the road we are on there is a monument in a wayside churchyard which relates the artifice and broken word by which James II. entrapped some rebels and promptly did them to death.

From the border to Langholm is one of the most glorious and enchanting roads (if it wasn't for the surface) that ever was. The woods and flowers are on each side, and for some distance the River Esk adds enchantment to scenery that can never be forgotten. But from Langholm to Hawick, the next stage, one needs to be a Scotchman or a Welshman to appreciate the going. Perhaps I was tired (for this part of the journey was taken between eight and nine at night), after twelve hours of riding. The road was bad, and it maunders mile after mile among the gaunt bare hills with never a house or a soul in view. Not one vehicle did I come across for nearly 20 miles. Scotch roads were not made for motors. There are too many right-angle turns, and steep bridges, besides which they have a delightful trick in Scotland of

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putting a speed limit wherever two or three houses are gathered together. They also put up signs to tell you there are cross roads, and after slowing and scanning the country for a mile or so one discovers that that was only a Scotch joke. Round about these parts are mighty sheep-runs, and queer-looking sheep that I afterwards understood were Cheviots. Even the youngest of them looked like grand-fathers, and their whole appearance denotes the need of the barber. These, I suppose, are the source of the famous Scotch wool, but I found several of them very blank nuisances when they decided to cross the road in a long stream in front of me. Half-way through this wilderness one comes across the Moss Paull Inn, 800 feet above sea level, in the heart of the hill country. I don't know whether the inn justifies the term, "hotel," but though I was looking for one I decided to adopt the Scotch motto and "mak sicc'ar" by going on to Hawick.

Now at Hawick I looked for an hotel, but made the mistake of asking a Scotch policeman. I feel certain he never understood me, for he murmured something about the furs or fells, which I took to be the name of some hotel, and he directed me on a road which led uphill and finally clean out of the town. I asked another Scotchman where the road went, and as he didn't speak English either, I asked a third, from whom I understood the road led to Selkirk twelve miles away. I felt I couldn't go back to Hawick and face that policeman (there was a speed limit there, too) so on I pushed to Selkirk.

A mile or two from Hawick, though not on the road I travelled, is Hassendean. 'Twas here

The Kirk was decked at morning tide,
The tapers glimmered fair,

The priest and bridegroom wait the
bride,

And dame and knight are there;
They sought her baith by bower and
ha',

The lady was'n a seen;
She o'er the border and awa'

Wi Jock o' Hazeldean.

I, like others perhaps, have often chuckled at the lovely hubbub there was that fine morning. I wonder if the lady and Jock travelled the road to the border that I came by. I would

verily have turned back and given them a lift had the thing happened in my day. I might even have done my own little bit to cheer the lost bride, though I guess Jock would be pretty busy himself.

It was 9.30 p.m. as I went over the heights between Hawick and Selkirk. The shades of night were falling fast, as was the rain, so I didn't give a second thought to a lonely mound which I gather lies out upon the bare hillside there. This was the grave of some poor girl who in a frenzy of religious mania took her own life, overwhelmed by her own self-accused sinfulness. The priests forbade her a Christian burial, and, with becoming charity, dictated an unconsecrated and disgraceful burial away in the bleak wilderness. Oh, these priests; I haven't a bit of sympathy for that one at Hassendean whom Jock "did" for 7s. 6d.

And so to Selkirk. Selkirk is as near as makes no matter the dead centre of all the romance of the Waverley country. Indeed, Sir Walter Scott himself lived close here, at Abbotsford, on the road to Galashiels. He was often in Selkirk. It was fitting, therefore, that I should seek a bed there and dream of Scotch lasses and Jocks, evil priests and border warfare. I woke early in the morning, and at 7 a.m. was on the road again for the odd 39 miles to Edinburgh.

But I am not going to dismiss Selkirk like that. Selkirk lies upon the hillside, and its graces, which are many, have to be seen from certain angles to get a full appreciation. Selkirk has played its part in the history of Scotland, and other more warlike invaders than myself have been here and at different times almost razed the town to the ground. Shall I spin a yarn I heard at Selkirk?

This is a fairy story, and it begins with a little boy of nine who fell from his horse and who was caught by the fairies and borne off to dwell in fairyland. As he grew up he took human shape at his own sweet will, and used to haunt a place called Carterhaugh in the environs of Selkirk. He was apparently a great flirt, and his presence and good looks attracted many of the maidens of the district, who, however, nearly always had cause to regret the visit to Carterhaugh and falling in with this fairy Don Juan. Warnings were

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issued, I suppose, by the elders of the district—

“O, I forbid ye maidens a’
That wear gowd on your hair,
To come or gae by Carterhaugh,
For young Tamlane is there.”

I suppose this stopped Tamlane’s little game for a time. However, even Eve was disobedient, and there came a time when one young lady rebelled against this prohibition, and, defying everybody, off she went to Carterhaugh. But—

“She hadna pu’d a red, red rose,
A rose but barely three;
Till up and starts a wee, wee man
At Lady Janet’s knee.”

Then followed the usual courtship, and the usual ending, and Lady Janet marched home a little wiser. But Janet was a girl of mettle, and, what was more, Tamlane himself was really in love this time, and when Janet knew more about her condition she was determined that come what may Tamlane should be hers and she would win him back from the fairies. So on the night of the year that, so they say, fairies are abroad, she took herself to the cross roads.

The heavens were black, the night was dark,

And dreary was the place,
As fair Janet in her green mantle,
To Miles Cross she did gae.

Betwixt the hours of twelve and one,
The north wind tore and bent,
And straight she heard strange elritch sounds

Upon that wind which went.

Fair Janet stood, with mind unmoved,
The dreary heath upon;
And louder, louder wax’d the sound
As they came riding on.

And so the story goes—first the fairies tried to frighten Janet, and, failing that, they tested her in many ways, making Tamlane assume every frightful shape but that of the natural form in which he had won her love, but at last she won:—

“They shaped him in fair Janet’s arms
And esk, but and an adder;
She held him fast in every shape—
To be her bairn’s father.

They shaped him in her arms at last,
A mother naked man.

She wrapt him in her green mantle,
And sae her true love wan!”

And so, dear reader, especially if you be fair reader, you might agree that one night at Selkirk is quite enough, and we may hurry on down the hill, and on the enchanting road to Galashiels.

Downright glad am I that I didn’t take this road last night. Not only should I have missed the beauty, but I believe it was along here that Burke and Hare used to travel with their donkey-cart quite late at night. You don’t know Burke and Hare? Then ask your Pa and see if he remembers the famous body-snatchers who, pretending to sell fish, more often carried a more evil-smelling cargo salvaged from fresh-made graves. These they sold to medical students in the very city to which we are bound.

There are pleasanter traditions of this neighbourhood, however, which carry us back to King Arthur. The knights of the round table are said to have fought a battle hereabouts against the Pagans. I suppose the latter were Scotchmen, and the story reminds one that, after all, according to some Scotchmen, I am not yet even in Scotland!

I have heard it held that Scotland doesn’t begin till one gets north of Edinburgh. I cannot understand the patriot who declares that, for, after all, is it not a confession of the time when all South of Edinburgh was debatable land and from Roman times was frequently claimed and even held by the English? I think it is more generous to Scotch traditions to pay the courtesy I have done in suggesting that Scotland really begins the south side of the present border, where the country changes its face. In doing this we bury hatchets.

Galashiels reminds me of the Cotswolds and the busy little towns that here and there occur. Galashiels is famous for its tweeds. Indeed, Galashiels is the home of tweed. It was there the very term and description was first given—originally, it is said, from an English customer not understanding a Scotchman’s writing. The Scotchman spoke of his “tweels” and the Englishman called them “tweeds” and placed his order! The term was seized upon, and to this day

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tweeds and Galashiels go together. If you want a good tweed, and the real stuff made by men who know, then you must send to Galashiels!

Once on the other side of Galashiels there is little to detain one on the road to Edinburgh. It is not long before we join the Great North Road of the Eastern way, and on surfaces that we have quite forgotten since we left the border we speed through speed limits to the Athens of the North. Our road takes us to High Town, to Princes Street itself, and the glories of Edinburgh burst upon one at a busy corner, where it would be sheer suicide to look at them.

However, I do not intend to describe Edinburgh. The invasion is complete. Though I have travelled the lonely road there are friends and acquaintances here by the dozen. Most have come by the long iron road that spells tediousness and fatigue and imprisonment for hours. Some came by water, and haven't got rid of the traces, and others came I don't know how. They always come. They are the familiars that one sees, but never hears, at Labour Conferences year after year. One supposes they are the faithful who, in their districts, do the work, and at the conference come to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest. Round yonder doorway are a crowd of the big guns—men whose names are household words and whose patronymics are echoed even on the Continent and further off. This is an invasion of Scotland such as the old warriors never dreamed of. It is an invasion of deliverers, and the populace receives us with open arms. And history has proved that we found a friendly country, for on the 15th November succeeding the Invasion, a powerful contingent was mobilised in the country round about and they marched Southward to a conquest we ourselves cannot achieve—even unto Westminster!

"A sense of humour," said the Rev. T. H. Darlow recently at a meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, "is necessary for an editor, for hell is a place where no one makes a joke, and no one sees a joke." And the Editor of the "L.O." doesn't see where the joke comes in even now!

THE AUTUMN REGISTER

HOUSE TO HOUSE ENQUIRY.
MARKING OF JURORS.
A NEW ORDER IN COUNCIL.

Once again the Home Office have circularised Registration Officers under date 15th May, emphasising the need of a house-to-house enquiry for the purpose of compiling the electors' lists. The Home Office says: "It appears that a complete house-to-house enquiry has not been carried out in some registration areas, and the Secretary of State would impress upon the Registration Officer the importance of ensuring that such an enquiry is undertaken throughout every parish in his area . . . The Registration Officer will no doubt arrange that where additional assistance in canvassing and other work is required, persons out of employment should be engaged for the purpose, if suitable persons of this class are available."

The neglect of some Registration Officers to see that house-to-house enquiries are really carried out is fast becoming a scandal, yet time after time the Home Office and its predecessors have emphasised the necessity of this work being carried through. We strongly advise those of our readers who have definite proof that the enquiry is not carried out to take up the matter with their local Registration Officer, and, failing satisfaction, with their M.P.'s. There is little doubt that a large number of persons are disenfranchised purely through this neglect.

With regard to the question of the use of the Register as the Jury list under the Juries' Act, 1922, the procedure for which was outlined in our issue for September, 1922, it is now pointed out that the temporary procedure appointed for last year has given place to permanent procedure, and an Order in Council has been promulgated laying down rules. The latter is obtainable as R.P. 121, through H.M. stationers.

The actual markings in the Register for Jurors are to be the same as for the previous Autumn Register. Jury marks should be printed in List B of the electors' lists, and the Registration Officer is instructed that care should be taken to prevent persons being marked as jurors if their claims not to be so marked were allowed last year.

The obligation of furnishing the Registration Officer with lists of those liable for jury service falls upon the overseers.

The new Order makes certain modifications of the Act in its application to new claimants. It would often be impracticable for the marks to be inserted against names in the published lists of claimants, owing to insufficient time being available to investigate the cases, and Article 4 of the Order requires the Registration Officer to give notice to each claimant whom he considers qualified for and liable to jury service, and whose claim will be allowed without enquiry, that it is proposed to mark him as a juror unless he makes objection within five clear days.

The Registration Officer is not precluded from dealing with cases in which notice of objection is received more than five clear days after the proposal to insert the marks was notified, and "the Secretary of State has no doubt that the Registration Officer will be prepared to consider and decide any objection which is received in reasonable time or is made in person at the revision sittings if the claim is considered there."

The decision of the Registration Officer should be notified on or before 15th September. In case of an adverse decision of the Registration Officer, appeal may be made to a Court of Summary Jurisdiction within fourteen days after the date of notification of the decision or, if the decision was not notified by the 15th September, within fourteen days after that date.

(Concluded from page 19.)

and women who provide the enthusiasm and the driving force of propaganda and organisation. The present methods of using the money raised for political purposes (the only possible methods, perhaps, when the Labour Party was established) are not sufficient to meet the needs of a Party which expects to be called upon at any time to accept responsibility for carrying on the Government of the country. Under these changed circumstances, the problem of the county constituency becomes of vital importance to the future development. Unless it can be successfully overcome it bids fair to prevent the work of the Party reaching its full fruition for generations to come, and the rural areas will continue to be the stronghold and the vantage-ground of Tory reaction.

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An advertiser writes: "I may add, however, that I am not greatly impressed with Labour papers for advertising purposes; readers looking for the 'revolooshun' seem not to see advertisements, or it may be advertisers are classified among those who 'wish to exploit the Movement.' Puir auld Movement!"

There is some justification for our friend's comment—and he is one of us. Is not this attitude very often the cause of the failure of Labour newspapers to make headway? At any rate, we look to the readers of the "Labour Organiser" to set an example by supporting those advertisers who entrust their announcements to us.

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